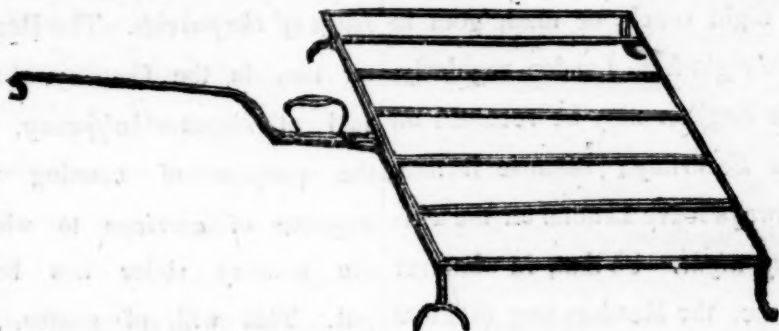


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o'Clock.



"This Bill (Mr. Peel's) was grounded on concurrent Reports of both Houses; it was passed by unanimous votes of both Houses; it was, at the close of the Session, a subject of high eulogium in the Speaker's Speech to the Regent, and in the Regent's Speech to the two Houses: now, then, I, William Cobbett, assert, that, to carry this Bill into effect is impossible; and I say, that, if this Bill be carried into full effect, I will give Castlereagh leave to lay me on a Gridiron and broil me alive, while Sidmouth may stir the coals, and Canning stand by and laugh at my groans."—Taken from Cobbett's Register, written at North Hampstead, Long Island, on the 24th of September, 1819, and published in England in November, 1819.

## THE REGISTER.

A GREAT deal of inconvenience has, in many cases, arisen to the Readers of the Register, in the country, from the irregular manner of supplying it; and this has, in some degree arisen from an irregular mode of doing the business

in London. It has, therefore, been resolved, beginning with the next Register, that is to say, that of the 20th of April, to make the trade-price uniform, and to charge all the trade, in London, the usual regular trade-price. As to the Country, the publisher has been surprised to find, that, in some towns, the Register is not to be had till the

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*Monday or Tuesday*, when it may always be had on the *Saturday* ! At Norwich, Bristol, Portsmouth, and at every place whither a night coach, or mail, goes in one night from London regularly, the Register may be received on the *Saturday* ; because it may always leave London on the *Friday night*. So that, in whatever place, the Readers may find that they do not get the Register as soon as they ought to do, they may be assured, that the fault is, not in the want of punctuality in the supply from the office ; but in something belonging to the intermediate person, who takes it from the office and sends it to the country, and who has, perhaps, *other things to send*, about which he is more anxious than about the Register, which latter, therefore, he *keeps back*, in order to save the expense of two coach-parcels instead of one. To prevent this, in future, and to take away all grounds of delay, the publisher will send to the country himself, making the same allowance to the sellers in the country that he makes to those in London, and will *pay the carriage of the parcels*. The Register has, in the Country, been sold at *sixpence-halfpenny*, for the purpose of meeting the expense of *carriage* to which the country seller has been put. This will, of course, *no longer be done*, as the publisher will pay the carriage out of his own pocket. Thus will all the Trade and all Readers, whether in town or country, be put upon the same footing ; and, as the alteration will necessarily tend to insure a regular and early delivery in all parts of the country, and must, of course, give satisfaction to all parties, the proprietor will incur without reluctance, the loss which he shall sustain from paying the carriage of the parcels.—All those who may choose to apply to the Office, in order to be supplied in the country, may depend on having

their orders punctually attended to. They will, on their parts, be so good as to be early and explicit in giving their orders. If they wish to have *placards*, or to have their names mentioned in the imprint, or advertisements, as **SELLERS OF MR. COBBETT'S WRITINGS**, they will please to signify the same by Letter (post-paid) addressed to JOHN M. COBBETT, at The Register-Office, No. 183, Fleet Street, London.

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TO

MR. WESTERN.

*On the Consequences of a Repeal  
of Peel's Bill.*

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Kensington, 16 April, 1822.

SIR,

You have given notice, that, if no other Member undertake the task, you will move for "a re-consideration of Peel's Bill." By re-consideration you must mean *repeal*; and, indeed, this you state to be your object. Therefore, notwithstanding far-famed

*Six-Acts*, I will take the liberty to address to you a few remarks upon the probable *consequences* of repealing that famous Bill. The reasons against the repeal are many and weighty; but, I must confess, there are also many and weighty reasons for the repeal, and especially that the repeal would *put off the evil hour*, which is a host of reasons all in one with those whose very minds are fashioned to a system of *shifts* and *expedients*.

I am peculiarly well qualified to judge with impartiality in this case; because I feel no bias, no interest, on the one side or on the other. In most other cases I have my *wishes*; here I have none; no wish at all. If it were left to me, I being in my present situation of a *hater of the Borough system*; if it were left to me to say, whether the bill should remain, or be repealed, I should certainly decide by toss of a halfpenny. The decision might depend on the humour in which I happened to be; whe-

ther disposed or indisposed for *fun*. Knowing that the *end* will be the same, I might, if in a humour for *larking*, say, "come, then, repeal the Bill, and let us have the *feast of the Gridiron*." And, ridiculous as this is, ridiculously out of all reason as it is, this feast of the Gridiron is certainly one of the reasons, if not the sole reason, for the hitherto non-repeal of this truly terrible Bill.

The motto to the present Letter and the culinary implement placed above it; the sight, the bare sight of these, is enough to turn any one of you; any man of the Collective, sick; sick to the very heart. And, I leave you to guess, if you can, at the fuss, the noise, the piece of work, the bragging, the frolic and the laughing, that will take place, if you succeed in your motion! And yet (for the reasons by-and-by to be stated) I do believe, that, sooner or later, the Bill will be repealed.

That it would have been repealed last year, if I had remained

in America, I am morally certain, and so are the public. I foresaw that, and, for that reason, hastened home. If I had *held my tongue* last year, the Bill would, every one thinks, have been repealed.

The shame attending the repeal of the Bill; the shame at being proved to have been so grossly ignorant as to a matter of such vast importance; this shame is a *great deal*; but, what is of infinitely greater importance, the bill cannot be repealed, or modified, without the whole nation, and, indeed, the whole world, seeing, *that I possessed more understanding than Ministers and Parliament all put together!* This is the devil: this is the real obstacle: this is the terrific object.

Some persons would say, that *history will record* this; but, I will not leave it to history. I will not leave the thing to a pensioned historian. I will *record it myself*: that is the safe way; and will endeavour not to leave all the fruits to be gathered by *posterity*, for whom I have as great a regard as



other people; but with whom, by their leave, I wish that we of the present day should *share*.

That it is to the Bill and to the other measures for cash-payments that you, the landlords, owe all your distress and danger, is now no longer denied; or, at least, the denial is so very feeble, is made in so *faint* a manner, that it can no longer be considered as a denial, but merely as something put forward to save the parties from the excruciating torment of acknowledging that they were wrong; and this the whole Collective Body is the more willing to admit of, as it serves to prevent an open confession that *Cobbett was right*, which is always a *capital matter*! This denial will not be made at all much longer, for a proof of which we may appeal to the last *Agricultural Report*, where the doctrine of Ricardo is completely, though incidentally, and, as it were by mere accident, *disavowed*. The error is *now seen*. It is now plain to you all. But, how are you to look ME in the

face, and now repeal this Bill?

I want to know that. The nation has its eyes on the *Parliament* and on *me* too. This is one of the advantages derived from *persecution*. It is well known, not only in this kingdom, but in *America* and *France*; all well informed men know well how I stand with regard to this thing. My opinions with regard to this paper-system have been too striking in themselves, and have been stated and maintained with too much force and perseverance, not to have become well known. They have related to measures of tremendous importance, and have constantly run paralleled with and opposed to the opinions of those who adopted those measures. The measures affect *all nations* in some degree or other; and, whatever the Collective may think of it, however it may hurt the pride of the haughty, insolent, and greedy race of *Squeakers*, the name of *Cobbett* is, whenever the English paper-fabric is talked of at Paris or at Washington, much oftener

in men's mouths than the names of *Castlereagh* and *Liverpool*. It is not in England only, I assure you, that the *Feast of the Gridiron* is looked forward to with great expectation.

One of the *consequences*, and that not the least important, of repealing the Bill, would be to give me such a predominance in point of influence over men's minds that no man ever before possessed, or ever thought of possessing; and this must, in the end, if I lived and continued to be as industrious as I am now, lead to other inevitable consequences hostile to the paper and borough and Six-Act system. I defy any man to prevent the existence of this influence; for, though I should not deserve it more than I deserve it now, seeing that my claim to superior knowledge and foresight stands clearly established by events; yet, there are multitudes of men, who are to be convinced only by a *literal* fulfilment of every part of a prediction. However, when that comes, as it will

come, either by a repeal of the Bill, or by a *bursting* of the whole thing to pieces, the *influence* will come. In the latter case it will be a *little longer* before its arrival; and as this will be one of the reasons, and, I believe, the chief reason, for *not repealing the Bill*, I will here show how *the Collective and I should stand before the world*, in case the Bill were now to be repealed.

It was in the year 1810, that the propriety of passing such a Bill began to be agitated; and, I will now give a brief sketch of the conduct of the Collective Wisdom on one side, and of mine on the other side, *with regard to this measure*. The late Mr. PERRY used to call the Parliament, "*The Collective Wisdom of the Nation*." An appellation that I like exceedingly, only it is a little too long. I like it much better than *Ministry*, for that body is nothing of itself. I like it better than *Parliament*, for that may mean to leave out the Ministers. I like it better than *Government*,

for that sometimes means one thing, and sometimes another. At Westminster there are met all the whole body that manage our affairs; and this Mr. PERRY, with great propriety, called "The Collective Wisdom of the Nation;" an appellation, which, having so high an authority in point of taste, I have long adopted, though, to save time and paper, I sometimes abridge it to *Collective Wisdom*, and, when hard pushed for time, to *Collective*; but, in no case, without carrying along in my mind all the respect naturally inspired by the appellation at full length.

Very well, then, we are now going to see how the Collective Wisdom and I shall *stand before the world if this Bill should be repealed*; and, in order to do that, we must see what the conduct of each of us has been since the propriety of passing such a Bill was first agitated, which was in the year 1810.

In the year just mentioned there was formed one of those detached

bodies of the Collective Wisdom, called *Committees*; and this particular detachment was called the *Bullion-Committee*. The projector and chairman of this Committee was a Lawyer and Edinburgh Reviewer of the name of *Horner*, who has died since, and over whom a funeral oration, or rather orations, came forth from *both sides*, so rare were his merits as a *statesman*, and so great was the loss which the Collective sustained in his death. This Bullion Committee sat a long while, and, at last, brought forth a very *large book*, which they called a *Report and Evidence*. This Report, made in 1810, recommended, that a Law should be passed during the next Session, *to cause cash-payments to take place in 1813*. The Ministers contended, that the Nation was *able* to return to cash-payments at any time; but, that, *during war*, it would not be *wise* to do it; and, as a majority of the Collective were on the side of the Ministers (as, indeed, they usually are), it was resolved *not to pass*

*such Bill*; merely, mind, on account of the inconvenience that it might occasion during war; and not on account of any injury that it could inflict on tenants, landlords, mortgagers, or debtors of any description.

So that, here were the Bullion-Committee and its partisans for a *Law* to return to cash-payments in 1813; and the opponents of this Committee were for putting it off *till the peace*, asserting, at the same time, that the Nation *could* return to cash-payments at any time without any injury as to its internal affairs. These projectings and debatings were going on in the years 1810 and 1811, at which time the THING had me in Newgate for two years, with a thousand pounds fine and seven years recognisances for having expressed my indignation at reading of the flogging of English Local-Militiamen at the town of Ely in England, under a guard of German Bayonets. This did not make me *love* the THING much, as you may easily guess. But, the

THING was then very strong and very furious. I was naturally anxious to find out whether there were any hope that the THING would, at any future time, be likely to be more tolerable to live under. This *Bullion* affair attracted my attention; and, I found, that both parties were *ignorant of the subject*, and that, if they pursued the path they appeared to be in, they would, at last, bring the thing to a state that might give even *me* a chance of *redress*. It was, however, useless for me, as to my own views, to see this ignorance of the parties, unless I made others *see that I saw it*. To do *this*, therefore, and to do it effectually, I set about it in earnest, during *the third month* of my imprisonment, and ended my task in a little better than a year. I was paying *twelve guineas a-week* for the indulgence of not being *shut up with felons*! I kept my temper; and I wrote *Paper-against-Gold*, which has been sticking to the THING, clinging to it like a leech, through all the

boundings and startings and caperings and mad pranks that it has been playing, and which hangs on to it still, and will hang on to it till it groans out its last!

In that Work I *denied that the Nation could return to cash-payments without ruin.* I denied that the Nation could ever pay the interest of the Debt in full, *in cash.* I not only insisted, but I *proved*, that an attempt to do this would produce a *convulsive revolution.* And, there we stood *for that time*, the whole of the *Collective Wisdom* on one side, and I on the other side.

From 1814, when the *peace* came, to 1817, I was, almost weekly, calling upon the Ministers to pay in cash agreeably to their promise; but, telling them, at the same time, that they never could do it *without reducing the interest of the Debt.* In this latter year the **THING** grew so very angry and violent, that I was compelled to draw off to a distance from it. It still retained all its "*vigour*," which is a terrible

quality in the thing. I had been out of its reach only about a year before there was a talk on foot again about *cash-payments*; and the *Collective Wisdom* seemed (in May 1818) to be *resolved* to pass, during the next Session of Parliament, some *law* or other to *compel* payments in cash, at some time or other. The knowledge of this resolution reached me in Long Island in July; and, on the 11th of that month, in 1818, I wrote the **LETTER** to **TIERNEY**, foretelling the consequences of passing such a Bill. I had two objects in view in the writing of this Letter: first, to show that I had more understanding than the *Collective Wisdom*, and to have the *proof* of this at hand when the event should arise: and, second, *to cause*, or to help to cause, *such a Bill to be passed*; being well satisfied, that my being strenuously and vehemently opposed to *any* measure, was a great stroke in favour of such measure being adopted!

What weight, if any, this latter



consideration had, I know not ; but, adopted such a measure was in 1819; and that, too, to my inexpressible joy ; because I knew, that it would bring the **THING** completely to its bearings, and make it not only *safe*, but *pleasant*, living in England. I knew, that *my time* was at hand. The moment I saw *Peel's Bill* I was regardless of every other measure. I did not care a straw about the passing of Six - Acts, about *Edwards* and *Monument*, and, as to myself, the rest of the things that took place. I knew, that, this *Bill* being passed, the main chance was secured, and that we had but a short time to endure the old sort of thing. Above all things, I thought of the harvest of *fair and honest fame* that *I myself* should have to reap. I had waited with a great deal of patience for the coming up and the growing of the seed that I had sowed ; I had endured all the hard seasons with a great deal of fortitude, and without any whining or grumbling ; and I had a right

to anticipate the harvest with feelings of delight, and especially as such harvest must be inseparable from the restoration of my country to happiness and freedom.

Now, there are persons enough who have their eyes upon this approaching harvest, and would go much more than half way to the devil, in order to prevent my reaping it. To some persons this may appear unaccountable. " What," it may be asked, " need *Lords* and other men of rank " and in power care about it being " said that they were wrong, and " that *Cobbett* was right ; that he " had more knowledge of such " matters than all the *Collective* " put together ?" Oh, yes ! They have need to *care* about this. They cannot slur this over. *Cobbett* holds a *pen*. *Cobbett's* memory is good ; his industry great ; and his perseverance not to be wearied. They will not get out of this scrape so easily. In short, they know well, that, if they repeal this *Bill*, he will never cease till he

has exposed their ignorance and showed his superiority over them, in such a way, and through such channels, that there will hardly be a single soul, even amongst the least informed classes, that will remain ignorant of any part of the matter.

The Parliamentary *Debate-publishing* is a great instrument in favour of the Collective. It gives them an importance that they would not otherwise have. It has long been a most powerful mode of using the press, and, in many cases, to a most pernicious purpose. But, in the present case, this debate-publishing has been singularly useful. It has given us upon record the words of all the wise men, at the time of passing Peel's Bill. Some of these I must notice now, in order to give the Collective a foretaste of that which is to come by-and-by. To put down all the praises that were bestowed upon this measure; to make a regular arrangement of all the wise sayings would fill a volume; yet, I shall

certainly attempt this, and do it, too, before the thing be over. At present, let me observe that Lord Grenville bestowed on it the highest eulogiums that it seemed possible for him to discover; called it the salvation of the country; said that the Bill which suspended cash-payments was the most disastrous measure that ever was adopted in the country; declared that so injurious was it that he had no hesitation to say that rather than suffer another such a measure to be enacted, he would run the risk of even the conquest of the country by an enemy. He concluded his speech by expressing his regret that cash-payments were not to be sooner resumed; but he said that the measure would be productive of *incalculable advantages*, and "he most heartily declared that he gave it his *entire, unlimited*, and *most unqualified approbation*." This was pretty well, but even this was nothing to what his speech contained in some parts. He boasted of the great know-

ledge of the men who had recommended this measure. It was a plan, he said, "recommended by men of science, by men who had made these matters the object of *great study and deep research*. If that object proceeded from them, he for one should receive it with all the deference which it gratified him on every occasion to pay to talent and to learning. His own experience enabled him to say, that *greater lights* on this important subject had not been derived from those who had practised, than from those who had written upon it. It was a plan of one now existing in Europe, whose *name*, of all others, would be *most likely to recommend any question of political economy*. It was recommended by men who, to *profound and intimate acquaintance with the theory of the subject*, united the most *extensive practical experience*. Men, indeed, without science, experience or information in the details of this extensive matter,

"and only such, considered and treated this plan as *whimsical and impracticable*. But let it be remembered who those were who supported it, men of *unexceptionable CHARACTER* for *knowledge, practice and sagacity*."

Well said! Auditor! This plan; this famous thing springing from "*men of science*;" this plan, the result of "*great study*" and "*deep research*;" this measure, the "*fruit of great lights, profound and intimate acquaintance with the subject*;" this plan, the fruit of knowledge, practice and sagacity; this famous plan, was that very Peel's Bill, which you now are about to propose to be repealed!

Lord Liverpool went on in much about the same strain. Less lofty in his language, to be sure; but full of his praises of the scheme, and his exultation generally, upon this occasion was perfectly childish. In the House of Commons both sides agreed as to this great measure; though I must do Mr. MARRYATT the justice to say,

that he did object to the measure as one which would produce ruinous effects, though when it came to *voting* he did not disturb that sweet harmony which at last produced this blessed Bill. As to Mr. PEEL himself, the praises of the Bill were natural from him. Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT said, "if ever there was a moment of Mr. PEEL's life, in which he was most unquestionably and most eminently entitled to the *gratitude of his country* it was the present moment." Mr. PASCOE GRENFELL, "speaking as a practical man of business," praised the Bill. Mr. PEEL himself, spoke of the Bill as a thing which conducted us in "*safety and triumph* to the destined shore of success. He confessed that he had changed his opinions upon the subject of paper-money; and that he hoped that the avowal of the change, would not expose him to the charge of *inconsistency*; but would be regarded as a proof of his *sincerity*." Ah! happy Mr. Peel! Your

changes of opinion are to be proofs of your sincerity, though relating to matters of theory; but my changes of opinion, are to be regarded as proofs of my insincerity, though relating to the characters of men, whom I regarded as honest till I found them to be knaves!

But, to proceed with our Members of the Collective, Mr. Tierney was very neat indeed upon the occasion. "He could assure the Right Honourable Gentleman Mr. Peel, that, if a compliment from so humble an individual as himself could give him any gratification, he would gladly offer it; but, in truth, he was afraid to do so, lest he should be thought to *compliment himself*, the Bill being founded upon principles which *he had been advocating for a long series of years*." This Gentleman was quite affecting in one part of his speech. "He returned Mr. Peel his *sincere thanks* for this great service to his country, and above all, he returned him his

“ thanks for the just compliment  
 “ which he had paid to the me-  
 “ mory of a *dear lamented friend*,  
 “ and he should have received  
 “ still higher gratification from  
 “ the events of the present even-  
 “ ing, had that *beloved friend*  
 “ (Mr. Horner) been alive to wit-  
 “ ness the glorious establishment  
 “ of those principles, which he  
 “ had been the first to propose  
 “ to the attention of Parliament.  
 “ The eloquence and ingenuity  
 “ with which his dear departed  
 “ friend had explained and de-  
 “ fended his principles had al-  
 “ ways attracted the *admiration*  
 “ of the House ; but to hear an  
 “ acknowledgment of their truth  
 “ was reserved for a later period !”

Was there ever humbug equal to  
 this ! What principles were these ?  
 What was it after all that this  
 Horner proposed or said ? Why,  
 he said that the paper was depre-  
 ciated, which I had *proved* seven  
 years before, and he proposed  
 that the Bank should be compell-  
 ed to pay in specie according to  
 law, as it had done for a hundred

years before the stoppage. What  
 the devil then, was all this *elo-*  
*quence* and *ingenuity* required  
 for ? However, bear in mind,  
 Mr. Western, that this dead Scotch  
 lawyer Reviewer was to be im-  
 mortalized because he had held  
 the principles upon which Peel's  
 Bill was founded ; that Bill which  
 you say has been the ruin of the  
 country, and which, therefore, you  
 want to have repealed.

Mr. TIERNEY said “ that no  
 “ man was more anxious than he  
 “ was to see cash payments re-  
 “ stored ; that the sooner the an-  
 “ cient standard of value was re-  
 “ stored the better ; that there was  
 “ no security for the Empire but in  
 “ a recurrence to the ancient stand-  
 “ ard ; that no man's property  
 “ could be safe without the resto-  
 “ ration of that wholesome stand-  
 “ ard ; and, in short, that the only  
 “ objection he could have to the  
 “ Bill was that it did not cause the  
 “ cash to come quick enough !”

Mr. RICARDO said “ the proposed  
 “ mode of resuming cash payments  
 “ appeared to him the *easiest thing*



“*that could be imagined.*” He afterwards said, that “we had nearly got home, and he hoped the Right Hon. Gentleman would lend them his assistance to let them reach it in safety. He would venture to state, that, in a very few weeks, all alarm would be forgotten, and at the end of the year we should be all surprised to reflect that any alarm had ever prevailed at a prospect of a *variation of three per cent.* in the value of the circulating medium.” This gentleman observed that the House had withdrawn its confidence from the Bank Directors, “on account of their *ignorance of political economy*!” And then this Honourable Member sat down, amidst loud and general cheering from all sides of the House!”

Loud and general cheering for the father of that project which is now sought to be got rid of! Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS said he hoped, “that henceforth the question would be *set at rest*, and that the general affairs of the Na-

tion would be restored, not merely to order, but to prosperity.” What a remarkably profound gentleman! Is it any wonder that we are as we are, when this gentleman passes for a great Statesman? After Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS, came Mr. ABERCROMBIE, the House not having been willing to listen to Mr. PETER MOORE. Mr. ABERCROMBIE said, “that the measure was as necessary to the political interest as to the moral character of the country; and though a great deal had been said about the injury the Bank might or might not sustain, very little had been urged in favour of the great mass of the people, who had been suffering under many difficulties and privations, while the *Directors and proprietors were heaping up wealth!*”

This one passage is enough to mark the character of a whole assembly. This one passage, heard without shouts of laughter, is quite enough to tell us what we have to expect from that quarter. I remember reading this passage

in Long Island and talking about it to one of my neighbours. We observed that this speaker had got the Bull by the tail in place of by the horns. He asked me who he was and what he was. I told him he was a lawyer, and the rest of what he is; and then my neighbour ceased to wonder. This gentleman was extremely anxious that the Bill should pass without a division!

An equally wise man followed him, no other than Lord CASTLE-REAGH himself. This great political philosopher, amongst innumerable other good things, said, "he would *venture to predict*, that "if the House acted upon the basis "laid down in the Report with the "*wisdom and energy belonging to* "the *British Parliament*, capital "and industry would resume their "stations, and would operate with "success in a new and untried "direction."

In conclusion of the debate Mr. PEEL observed "that we were "now at the end of twenty-two "years' departure from it, about

"to reach the goal of a *sound metallic currency*, from which we "had been so long absent, that "some apprehensions appeared "to exist that we never should re- "turn to it again; *fortunately*, "however, those apprehensions "were now no more!"

The House being about to divide upon the question on the call of Mr. CRIPPS, Mr. CANNING "implored his Honourable friend "not to divide the House." At last Mr. CRIPPS consented, and Mr. CANNING concluded with these words, "it is the *unanimous* "determination of Parliament "that the country shall return to "the ancient standard of value in "the establishment of a metallic "currency." **LOUD AND UNIVERSAL CHEERS!**

Thus, Sir, I have taken a little sketch of the history of the passing of the Bill. When the session of parliament ended; the Speaker congratulated the Regent, *now King*, on the completion of this great work; and the Regent

praised the zeal and wisdom of the parliament. But all was not yet done. The THING had driven me away; but the THING had not put my eyes out or cut off my fingers. There was my decision, therefore, to come yet. I had to write to the Regent on the subject; and, amongst other things, I told him what you will find in the motto to this paper. From that time to this, therefore, there has been a looking forward to the issue of this sort of struggle for reputation, between me and the Collective Wisdom of the Nation. There are thirteen months yet to come before the Bill can go into full effect. It is not yet cash payments, nor any thing like cash payments. The Bank paper is a legal tender all over the kingdom. The people in Scotland cannot get gold in exchange for the Bankers' notes, even by paying a discount. In no other part of the country is gold to be got except in London. And yet, such havoc has already been produced; so far have my

opinions been verified as to the effect of these measures, that you are about to move for a *re-consideration of them.*

The very notice of your motion is enough for me. The making of the motion, though you were not to divide the House upon it, would bring thousands to range themselves as my disciples. What, then, would be the consequence of an actual repealing of the Bill? That modest man, Lord Castle-reagh, during his invectives against the Reformers in 1817, and when he was calling upon the Collective Wisdom to pass the Bill that empowered Sidmouth to send whom he pleased to gaol, said that the people were instigated to acts of sedition "by ambitious men who wanted to get into office *without having any fair pretensions to office.*" The public had no doubt, that, in this species of loose and vulgar accusation, he alluded particularly to me. Now, Sir, I have had but a rough sort of life to lead at sometimes. I have been, during the last twenty-

two years, some time in Newgate, some time at sea; some time in the Rules of the King's Bench; and have been, for a considerable part of the whole of the time under the fangs of lawyers of some sort or other. But I most solemnly declare, that I never have been in any situation in my life that I would have exchanged for that of a minister compelled to have incessant intercourse with borough-mongers, loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers and Jews. I never have seen that moment when I would have exchanged situations with any man calling himself one of the English ministry. If ever I were to have power, it must be wholly uncramped by stock-jobbers or seat gentlemen; and my wonder constantly has been, that any man with the bare means of living in comfort without the salary, would subject himself to the toil and torment and degradation and odium belonging to almost any of the offices that I know any thing about. The *money*! Can it be an object worth any sacrifice

at all, does any one imagine, with a man like me? And, as to the honour! Is there a man in England that believes, that I would give the parings of my nails to have bestowed on me any thing that can be given to Sir Benjamin Bloomfield!

What a low, what a vulgar idea was this, then! How little did this man know, and how little does he know, and, indeed, how little can he know, of the feelings and the motives belonging to talent! But, after all, suppose I had entertained the wishes that he ascribed to me, it seems now to appear, that those wishes, that those *pretensions* as he called them, would not have been so very preposterous! If I had been a Minister; if I could have submitted to an intercourse with loan-jobbers and boroughmongers; if I had been in the place of the prime Minister, you are certain, I suppose, that this destructive Bill of Peel would never have been passed. That I should no more have thought of than of jumping



into a well. You are certain of this. So that here would have been some good, at any rate. Nay, was there any one of the million and a half of Reformers, who, if he had been a Minister, would have projected or agreed to such a bill. Their petition showed that they had no such stupid ideas. They prayed for Reform of Parliament, for reduction of taxes, salaries, sinecures, pensions, grants, and interest of Debt; and these are the things, and the very things that you are now seeking to obtain.

I can assure Lord CASTLE-REACH, that, though he thinks *I have no fair pretensions to office*, there are hundreds of thousands of persons and sensible persons too, in this kingdom, *who think I have*. But not one man in the kingdom can say that he ever could discover in me; and those who know me know well that it is by no means difficult to discover all that I think; no man can say that he ever discovered in me a desire to derive emolument from

any thing but my earnings; and as to posts and honours, it is impossible to know me for a week without knowing that I hold them in aversion. Nevertheless, I do think, that this thing will never be settled without my having a hand in it in some shape or other. I am too much of a mark before the public for any thing very material belonging to me to escape notice. A long continuation of these labours of mine; the deep impression which my writings have had on so great a number of persons, and of the most thinking persons, too, as well as the most zealous; the great number of persons, who are, strictly speaking, my disciples, who think as I think, and who have followed me *all through* what the stupid hirelings of London call my "*tergiversations*;" these circumstances, together with the wonder (not to say admiration) excited by my astonishing industry and perseverance; these things have made it so, that the public have their eye constantly upon me, and upon



the conductors of the system; and no small part of the public attention and anxiety is directed to this one point: "is Cobbett right or is he wrong?" This being the case, even the agitation of the question, whether Peel's Bill shall be repealed or not is matter of dreadful importance to the Ministry and the borough system. The public bear in mind all the prophecies from Long Island. Your notice of a motion tends greatly to confirm the prophecies; and if the motion were to be carried, can you conceive any bounds to the influence which I should therefrom derive; would not my word in future as to all such matters be a law with the people? Would they ever doubt of that word again? And, if I have ridden the system with long spurs thus far, what, after such an event, could reason expect to be the length of those spurs? I am a *match* for the system now; a dead *match* for it; and if Peel's Bill were to be repealed, what chance

would remain for this deplorable system?

This, Sir, would be *one of the consequences* of the repeal of Peel's Bill. There are others, and of great importance, too; such, for instance, as the paper's becoming assignats; for, if this Bill were now to be repealed, in any part of it, in such a way, at any rate, as to prevent the abolition of legal tender, after the first of May 1823; if this were to be the case, do you think, that any man in his senses would regard such repeal in any other light than that of a *declaration of National Bankruptcy*?

This is the light, to be sure, in which it would be regarded. No man would believe, that the Bank ever could pay again, if it stopped paying now. Every man would, for once, believe Mr. VANSITTART, who said, last winter, (I mean last session of parliament) that "unless we returned to cash payments now, *we never could.*" I agree with him perfectly, unless the *interest of the Debt be reduced.*

And I add, that we cannot return to cash payments now without a reduction of that interest.

I am totally regardless of what is called injury to the credit of the country; and, therefore, whether foreigners would take their money out of the funds or not, in consequence of a repeal of Peel's Bill, is, in my opinion, a matter of no importance. But, a *new violation of contracts* is a matter of great importance; and this would be produced from one end of the kingdom to the other. It would produce a robbery of all yearly servants; it would again unsettle all wages; it would be a robbery most flagrant of all merchants and manufacturers who have given credit, and would give to the Americans alone from ten to fifteen millions of money at the expense of the King's subjects. The immense evil; the everlasting mill-stone would then take a roll backward, crushing thousands and hundreds of thousands that have escaped it in its forward direction.

Prices would rise; "times would be better," as the saying is; the farmer, who has survived the storm thus far would keep his capital, and the landlord would get some rent; but what would become of the labourer and the manufacturer again, and especially of the latter? The prosperity, which the Ministers now pretend to be enjoyed by the Manufacturers is merely an absence of Bankruptcy in the masters and of starvation in the workmen. This is what they are pleased to term prosperity; but even this, they enjoy only in consequence of those low prices of food which are the ruin of the farmer and the landlord. Therefore, if the repeal of Peel's Bill raise the prices of produce, and, thereby, relieve one class of men, it must inevitably spread ruin over another class of men. It is the interest of the Debt, and the expense of the establishments, which demand such enormous taxation; these are the causes of the evil; these must produce distress somewhere; they

must lead to ruin, misery, starvation and convulsion in some quarter or other; the load may be shifted from one set of shoulders to another; but, somewhere it must rest, and there it will produce all its natural consequences.

It is a repeal of taxes, therefore, that is wanted, and not a repeal of Peel's Bill, which can only, at best, make a new distribution of the load, and stave off the convulsion for a while. In the end my prophecies must be fulfilled. There must be a repeal of the Bill or a reduction of the Debt. I wish the prophecies to be fulfilled; but I would rather it should be by a reduction of the interest of the Debt than by a repeal of the Bill; notwithstanding the latter would be more striking and would make my triumph more obvious and more simple in its cause. My choice, however, will have little to do with the matter; and, strong as the reasons are against the repeal of Peel's Bill, I am by no means certain that it will not be repealed. It would certainly give *instant* relief to the farmer and landlord; and, though it would operate to the injury of Merchants, Manufacturers, Servants and Labourers, the effect would not be so instant

here as it would be on the other side.

The great objection which the Landlords have to the reduction of taxes and the interest of the Debt arises from the fears which they have of *reform* entering at the breach that would take place between the land and the funds. The *establishments* cost much; but the Landlords, by one means or another; by sons, by relations, by something or another, participate pretty largely in what goes to maintain the establishments. If my son be a placeman or a pensioner, or an officer of some sort or other, I lick myself whole for what I lose in paying to the establishments. Besides, I am always in hopes of getting, by hook or by crook, something in that quarter. All that goes to the establishments is so much to be divided, generally speaking, amongst those who have what is called interest, all of us well knowing what that interest means, and how it is to be acquired and maintained. But, amongst the fundholders interest will do nothing, especially now that *loans* are out of fashion.

It is the fundholders, therefore, whose grasp the Landlords wish to narrow; and this they cannot do without one of two things:

a reform of the Parliament, or a repeal of Peel's Bill. To reform the Parliament is the devil! It is nonsense to think that it will be done in consequence of any motion-like that which is proposed to be made; or, that it ever will take place but in a case of the last extremity. To reduce the interest of the Debt without this Reform is absolutely impossible, unless the throwing of the country into utter confusion be resolved upon at the same time. But, to repeal Peel's Bill is a thing that would create no commotion certainly; but, on the contrary, would give great satisfaction, at first, to perhaps, a large majority of the Nation. It would *make money* plenty, a thing always agreeable to persons who have dealings going on. It would cause more employment to take place; and it certainly would afford facility in the raising of the revenue. The losers would not feel the loss immediately, except the fundholders; and they are a set of persons whose clamours are of very little consequence. Besides, they would be very apt to be content. They would get the same number of pounds; and those apprehensions which they now have would disappear for a while, at any rate.

Thus would the Debt be re-

duced in fact, though not in name; and in addition to these considerations, there would be the relief of the Ministry from the everlasting torments that they have now to endure. If they were men of irritable nerves, they must, one would think, absolutely go mad. I would not have been in Lord CASTLEREAGH's place in that Agricultural Committee for a mountain of gold. Only think of the torment of being called upon for *high prices* by men that have passed a law to make low prices! It is a great compliment to the Ministers; not to their sensibility, I mean, but to their powers of face, that they are able to talk to such people without either laughing or swearing. The devil, they say, ought to have his due; and it is but bare justice to these Ministers to say that they were *forced*, nay bullied, and frightened into the passing of Peel's Bill; and I have always admired the address of *Canning* in getting the House to an unanimous vote upon the subject. I am not certain, by any means, that he foresaw the result; but if he did, it was as clever a stroke of policy as any of which I have a recollection. It was like the soldiers and sailors signing a round robbin. It was the cry of *one and all*. It was the old



scheme of time out of mind of preventing the pot from be-calling the kettle in terms not fit to be used in these times of universal delicacy. It would not have done to *divide*. There would have been a motion upon record. There would have been the *names of a minority*. The Ministers clearly did not want the thing; but if they had it, they contrived it very well to get the whole into the mess.

Yet, and which really is not fair play, they have now to bear all the blame in substance, though not in form. They are called upon to relieve the distress, when they are no more answerable for it than any of the rest of the passers of this Bill. They are not told, indeed, in so many words, that the Bill ought not to have been passed, but their assailants act towards them as if this were their subject of complaint. So that, their situation is to be envied by nobody, not absolutely in a dungeon or going to trial for libel. It is impossible for them to do that which is demanded of them, unless they repeal this Bill. Reduce the interest of the Debt they dare not, without a reform of the Parliament. Reform the Parliament they cannot without the consent, and even without the

first movement, of those that want the high prices. Reduce the other expenses of the State they cannot, and carry on the Government according to the present system. To repeal Peel's Bill, therefore, is the only thing that they have in their power in order to alleviate the distress of the farmers and the landlords. Dreadful, indeed, would be the shame, everlasting would be the disgrace of this; but, it would be an *expedient*; and really, all things considered, I should not wonder, if, tormented half out of their senses as they are, they were to give their consent to this, even with the condition attached of their coming to Kensington and acting, in their proper persons, in the *farce that is to be performed at the feast of the Gridiron*.

A few weeks, Sir, will inform us whether I am to have this very great pleasure or not. If you carry your point, preparations for the feast will instantly be made. It will be in the season of green geese, not less than five hundred of which will be broiled whole for the occasion. The entertainments will be such as I trust will reflect no disgrace upon our taste at this end of the Town; no house will be able to contain us; and



upon looking into Six-Acts, which are great friends of good cheer, I see that we must meet in "*no field or place*" without *bona-fide* eating and drinking! Eat and drink we will, therefore; and, Sir, I trust that you will honour us with your presence upon the occasion, to render which agreeable at the time and memorable afterwards nothing shall be wanting that is within the power of

Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

A

#### LESSON TO LANDLORDS.

P. S.—SIR, since I wrote the above there has come to my knowledge certain facts, which ought to serve as a lesson to all the Landlords of this kingdom. I have often had to observe, that tenants, in order to save the remnant of their property from the grasp of merciless Landlords and Parsons, would be compelled to quit their farms, and the country into the bargain. I have been saying this ever since the passing of

Peel's Bill; and in my last Register but one (April 6th, p. 25,) I observed that men who quitted their farms to get rid of their leases would naturally go to America. I said, in the place here referred to, "it is not pleasant to move a wife and family across the Atlantic; but, it is better to do that than to move them into the *Poor-house*, and, in many cases, this is the only alternative."

A case has just come to my knowledge, which is very well worth the best attention of the Landlords of England; and that there may be no doubt of the authenticity of my facts, I shall state the names of persons and places. Mr. THOMAS SMITH, a farmer of great respectability and of unblemished character, having a wife, two sons and several daughters, took a farm of Mr. HANBURY TRACEY, (a few years ago a member of Parliament,) in Gloucestershire, not far from Cheltenham. The farm was taken on a lease *four years ago*, and for the term of *fourteen years*. The quantity of land, *eight hundred acres*; the rent eighteen shillings an acre; the land very poor.

You will observe, Sir, that this was a rent of *seven hundred and twenty pounds a-year*; and you

will also observe, that the farm was taken in what was called the prosperous year 1818; that is to say, when the flood-gates of paper-money had been opened again; and when the six millions of gold that the Bank had put out before, had been driven out of the country and carried to the French mint. So that Mr. SMITH took the farm with the full prospect of permanent high prices. Now, mark: the very next year, a law was passed; that very law which you now want repealed, which violated the contract made by Mr. SMITH; and bound him to inevitable ruin.

During the four years of the lease that have expired, I am assured, by what I deem the best authority, that Mr. SMITH *sunk* four thousand pounds; and that his rent was paid, not out of the produce of his farm, but out of the produce of stock sold out of the public funds; that is to say, out of the store, the provision, which he had made for his wife and family. Thus circumstanced; reading the Register, and believing in the truth of its prophecies, Mr. SMITH endeavoured to prevail upon his landlord to take the farm off his hands. He did not succeed; and he adopted the fol-

lowing means of self-preservation:

In the month of August last, Mr. SMITH himself went to the United States of America, leaving his sons in possession of the farm, along with their mother and their sisters. The sons, *previous to Lady-day last*, sold off the stock and goods by auction, offering the Landlord, at the same time, to pay him his rent to Lady-day, if he would pay them for the grass seeds and the wheat sowings which they had made, and which was, of course, their property. The Landlord endeavoured to stop the sale; but this he could not do. At last, the tenant himself being gone, no hold being to be had of his person; no property of his being within the reach of the Landlord, the latter accepted of the terms proposed, paid for the grass seeds and wheat, and took payment of the rent up to Lady-day. Mr. SMITH'S family accordingly prepared to quit the country and join the provident father and husband; and, doubtless, in a few weeks from this day, they will be beyond the grasp of the taxgatherer, and out of the hearing of miserable creatures crying for hunger, and in their rage, illuminating the firmament with the blaze of stacks, the result of bountiful harvests!!

This, Sir, is a striking instance of the effects of the system we live under. There needs nothing more than these facts to characterise that system, which Mr. CANNING finds to *work so well*. For years and years have I been telling the insolent sons and daughters of corruption, that it is not the miserable paupers that will leave the country; but the men of skill, of industry and of capital. The more merit, the more wisdom, the more enterprise, the man possesses, the more likely is he to leave this land! What do we want more than this to give us the just character; to tell us the truth of this "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world?"

Let it be borne in mind, that it is not a Reformed Parliament that have brought the nation into this state; that it has not been brought into this state by Jacobins or Radicals; that it has not been bowed down thus, and thus torn to pieces, by those "*wild and visionary men*," who have been so often reviled, and on whom such loads of punishment have been heaped; but that it has been the work of those who have called themselves the *loyal* by way of excellence; of those who have called the people the "*basest po-*

*pulce*," and who have boasted that they exclusively possess the "*education of the country*."

As to the step taken by Mr. SMITH, who is there to call the morality of it in question? Was he to remain till he sold the clothes from the backs of his family, garment by garment? Talk of his *contract*, indeed, who is there that will deny that his contract had been violated on the other side? This has been acknowledged in Parliament over and over again; and if this be not acknowledged by any man, how base is that man, if he propose a *reduction of the interest of the Debt*? Such reduction is called for, even by yourself, in a pamphlet which you have lately published. What is the ground upon which you call for such reduction? Why this, that Peel's Bill has violated the contract between the public and the fundholder, and given to the latter the *double of what he ought to receive*. And, if the Bill have done this in behalf of the fundholder, *has it not done the same in behalf of the Landlord*?

This is conclusive; here is the full justification of Mr. SMITH, and of every man that has the means, the sense and the spirit to act the same part. Would you

have had him wait till some law were passed to rectify contracts and to secure him from ruin? I myself, in a petition to both Houses of Parliament, laid my own case; the case of a mortgagor indeed, and not of a tenant; but a case perfectly analogous; I laid my case before both Houses of Parliament in the year 1820; I prayed for a rectifying of my contract; I prayed for some measure to save me from the injustice inflicted by Peel's Bill; the water in the purest spring was not clearer than the justice of my case, which, as I stated in my petition, was the cause of thousands upon thousands. And what was the result? Owing to the justice of my Lord HOLLAND and Mr. COKE, my petition was *presented*, which was full as much as I expected; and the devil a word was ever said about it in either House!

Mr. SMITH had, doubtless, witnessed this and a great many other things; quite sufficient to convince him, that there was no hope but in retreat. He acted the wise part; the part dictated by sound sense and the most sacred of duties; that of preserving from ruin and from probable starvation the wife whom he had bound himself to love and to cherish, and the children to whom he had given

life. He and his family are now safe. No taxgatherer will ever again thunder at his door; never will he again see a gaol crammed with poachers, or a poor-house with miserable creatures who have toiled all their lives for the benefit of others. No one will now come to seize him by the throat if he turn his fat into candles, or his barley into malt. Upon the bare interest of what he has lost in the course of four years in England on the farm of Mr. TRACEY he would have lived like a gentleman, having horses, carriages, gardens and servants, and all things to make life easy and happy. His prudence, has doubtless, made provision for this now; and there are many besides Mr. SMITH who will find out the value of a few thousand pounds in a county where Claret can be bought for less than a shilling a bottle; and who will, notwithstanding their reluctance to quit England, prefer the life of a gentleman to that of a pauper.

In short, we have, in this case, only a specimen of what will take place, in cases like that of Mr. SMITH, in every part of the country. Some *law* may be passed to prevent these things; or, rather, to attempt to prevent them; but no law will succeed, short of a



law to compel the present tenants by lease, to surrender, at once, to their Landlords *all their property real and personal!* Or, in other words, an act of general confiscation and alienation of the property of tenants by lease.

This a little too much to be expected; and, therefore, the Landlords must be the sufferers in the end; and what can be more just than this, seeing that they have the power of putting a stop to the evil by causing a Reform of the Parliament and a reduction of the interest of the Debt. This is the remedy. They can adopt it when they please, and if they adopt it not let them suffer.

I cannot conclude without making one more observation, applicable to your intended motion for *the repeal of Peel's Bill*. You are, doubtless, aware, that the present Ministry cannot very well remain in place if that motion be carried. The government would, after such a measure, be, one would think, too contemptible to preserve any authority except by means of absolute brute force. And, do you happen to know, Sir, any body, who has either talent, or reputation for talent, that would venture to take the thing off their hands? As to those who are called the *Opposition*; are they ready to

reduce the interest of the Debt, and to trust the Boroughs to the safe keeping of any thing short of a thundering standing army? Are they, and, indeed are *you*, prepared for making a *Reform of the Parliament*? All these things should be duly considered before you make your motion.

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### STACK BURNING.

The accounts from the country, particularly from *Suffolk*, are truly distressing to hear. The mail coach is said to have passed, in one night, *seventeen fires* in this county. It is useless, in such a case to inveigh against the crimes thus committed. Their nature, and the punishment awarded them by the law, are well known to us all. That which ought to engage our reflection, is,<sup>1</sup> the *cause* of the commission of these crimes. The hirelings of the Borough-system talk only of the *crime*; the wickedness of the *crime*; the *vengeance* to be inflicted on the offenders; and, by no means, ever one word about the *cause* of the commission of the crime.

If the Stack-Burners were to call for *parliamentary reform*, there would be, on the part of the Borough-press, not the smallest hesitation to ascribe that stack-



burning to Radical publications. Stacks and Reform would blaze away in the same paragraphs. But, the Stack-burners do not seem to trouble themselves with "theories;" with "wild and visionary theories." The magistrates in Norfolk did, indeed, in their proclamation, talk about "instigators," and, in the old language of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, assert, that the *instigators* took care not to *partake in the punishment*. In OLIVER and EDWARDS the nation saw instances of this; but, in no other cases. So that, as to *instigators*, it would be but prudent, at last, to keep silence.

The cause, however, of these acts of violence and revenge is always carefully kept out of sight. It was easy for the Boroughmen and their underlings to find a cause for every act of violence committed by the people amongst whom *Reform* was a subject of petitions; but, here, in *Suffolk*, what cause is there here? The tools of Corruption will say, that there is *no cause* at all. So here we have an effect without a cause; a thing never before heard of in the world. The truth is, however, these children of Corruption know that there is a cause, and more than one, and with these causes

they are well acquainted, and, what is more, they know that their own acts are amongst these causes.

The main cause, doubtless, is *unsatisfied hunger*. There are several others. There is a long arrear of soreness and sourness. There are the innumerable punishments under the game-laws. There are the endless quarrels about parish-relief. There are many, many other things; but, the main immediate cause, is, *unsatisfied hunger*. Well; but will setting stacks on fire fill people's bellies? This is like the preachings of the Old Bishop in petticoats, HANNAH MORE, in her "*village politics*," where she asks the mob, whether *destroying the flour* will make *bread plenty*. The old dame was famous for *sophistry*. Oh, no! to destroy flour will not make bread plenty; neither is that what the parties expect. They are not fools enough for that. Their object is to *make their own treatment better*. They do not calculate upon direct, but indirect good; and, it is perfectly beastly to reason with them, as if they believed, that they should *fill their bellies* by the burning of stacks.

These burners either are, or they think themselves, *ill used*. They seek *revenge* on those to

whom they ascribe their ill-usage, and whom they can most readily come at. To *kill* the parties they have seldom the inclination. To beat them; to take away their goods, they dare not, the detection being almost certain. To make open resistance to the powers that be, they cannot; for they find an army, either regular or irregular, at every step, while they themselves are disarmed. In ransacking their minds for the means of revenge, the torch at last presents itself, as the most efficient for their purpose and the least dangerous to themselves.

This is very horrible! it makes one shudder to think of it; here is a *great crime*, not only in the eye of the *law* (for that, in such a case, is little) but in the more steady and awe-inspiring eye of *natural justice*. Next to wilful murder this is the greatest of human offences. But, still I say, we do nothing by *accusing and condemning*, unless we convince the perpetrators, that their *revenge* itself is *unjust*. And, in order to do this, we must first *know their case*. To know their case we must *hear them*. The first step, therefore, for the government to take in a case like this, is, to obtain true information as to the *feelings* of the people in the parts where these offences are com-

mitted. To put a score or two of them to *death* will answer no end, unless the *survivors* be satisfied of the *guilt*, the moral as well as legal guilt, of the sufferers. A wise and merciful government would discover the root of the evil (and let us hope that ours may) in a short time; and, would set itself to work to eradicate it.

To bestow bad names upon the offenders only tends to augment the evil: only tends to *inflame*: and, to impute the arts to *instigators*, and, by *insinuation*, to endeavour to implicate men who oppose generally the system of sway, is detestably wicked. The cause of the evil should be inquired into; a disposition to remove it should be shown; and upon all occasions, persons in authority should refrain from reproach on the sufferers from hunger. The farmers, themselves, are daily falling down into a state nearer and nearer to that of the paupers. As they fall their feelings will change; and by-and-by the mass of discontent will be hideous indeed, unless a Reform of the Parliament come to put an end to it. Already the farmers are a wholly different race of men from what they were but two years ago. It is surprising how quickly the mind moves when it takes a new direction, how soon it becomes precisely the opposite of

what it was before ; by how sudden a turn a life-and-fortune man becomes a Radical. So that let those who have been calculating all along upon seeing the yeomanry the same stuff *to the last* prepare themselves for a most signal disappointment.

Certain it is that there are many elements at work that have not been at work before for a great many years. We are, to use the emphatical expression of our great political philosopher, in the midst of a "*general working of events* ;" and it may be as well, perhaps, to leave the working to go on a little further, before we say much more of the matter. I will just add, however, an expression of my opinion once more, that with the stack burners, an ounce of conciliation is worth a pound of threats and of punishment. If I were a Magistrate in Suffolk, or if I were only a farmer there, I would stake my existence that I totally extinguished these vindictive fires in a week ; and from my lips no man should ever hear a threat or a word of reproach.

#### THE NEXT REGISTER

Will contain an Address to the People of England on the subject of the treatment of the Catholics,

especially of those in Ireland ; on the justice and necessity of treating them in a different manner ; and on the Bill, about to be proposed for restoring the Catholic Peers to the enjoyment of their right to sit in the House of Lords.

#### TULL'S HUSBANDRY

Is printed, and in the Bookbinder's hands. But, as the number to be bound all at once is great, the Work cannot be ready for delivery till *after* next Saturday, the 27th instant.

#### LETTER TO TIERNEY.

This piece of Long-Island Prophecy will be re-published (for the *fifth* time) *next Saturday*. What a *famous* man *Mr. Tierney* will become. How familiar his name will be in the mouths of posterity ! To this edition will be subjoined some of the Long-Island *Gridiron Prophecies* : The whole making a *nicè little Book*, published, as Six - Acts command, *price Sixpence*.—The Morning Chronicle of to-day asks : "When will the Parliament of England cease to think, that it can mend shoes better than the Cobbler ?" The "Collective Wisdom," the Chronicle meant ; and, it is not, begging the Chronicle's pardon ; it is not *the mending of shoes*, on which the Collective piques itself, and in which it has shown the minute correctness of its taste ; but in *the making of Pamphlets* !